

A Perspective towards the Praxis of Child Marriage in Indonesia

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Child marriage is categorized as a marriage between one or both spouses are under the age of 18. Many believe that child marriage is extended as a gender issue because of the effect of the harm for the young brides. In order to create a comprehensive perspective on the issue, the examination study must be conducted. Most of the countries essay to reduce the praxis and somehow to end it. Indonesia is one of the countries which experience the inclination of child marriage number. In 2015, the prevalence of child marriage in Indonesia was 23%, and it was dipped from 24 % in 2013. Moreover, Indonesia is one of the exciting places to examine child marriage because of its culturally, religiously, and geographically diversities. This secondary analysis used the data from Indonesian Statistic Bureau and other scientific resources. The historical assessment and policy related to it are presented to generate the perspective toward the young marriage in Indonesia. As a result, the cultural and religious contexts are playing permissive roles to child marriage in Indonesia. Based on those contexts, the marriage for minors aims to fortify them from premarital sex and pregnancy outside marriage. Besides, based on the marriage law, marriage is not categorized as illegitimate. Nevertheless, the cases are not natural behaviour to be directly accepted. The study is keen to support the impartial perspective to discern either the child marriage in cultural and religious contexts or child rights. The attempt to address it is through religiously and culturally proficiency and appreciation while at the same time, directing those in order to minimize minors to be victimized of child marriage.

Keywords: Gender, Child Marriage, Perspective, History, and Legal Aspect.



Introduction

Child marriage is defined as a marriage that incorporates one or both spouses are under the age of 18 years old. In 2014, it was predicted that 700 million women were married when they were in the aged of 15-19 years.¹ Although the number has plummeted from the past years, both national and international realms consider child marriage as a gender issue. The primary deliberation is related to the young bride's health. They are susceptible to the high risk of maternal mortality because of complication during childbirth and early pregnancy.² Furthermore, the children of a young mother have 35%-50% higher risk of preterm or low-birth-weight.³ Stated they also more vulnerable to have malnutrition which causes to the other health problem.⁴ The studies in several countries also have distinguished that young marriage raises the risk of sexual violence for the girls.⁵ The other prominent consideration is related to the education of young brides. Early marriage tends to immerse the level of educational attainment. The enormous drop-out rate of girls is occurred because of their marriage or pregnancy.⁶

After becoming a global concern, it is essential to perceive the determinant factors of child marriage. The fact that there are 88% of young brides are living in developing countries, establishes social and economic factors as the particular causes of this issue.⁷ They are stated that the determinant factor of child marriage is family structure, low autonomy in decision-making, and response to needs. Moreover, religious and cultural values create other essential components that motivate parents to arrange a marriage for their little girls.⁸

The previous examination reveals that the developing countries in South East Asia have a lower

¹ Unicef. (2014). *Ending Child Marriage: Progress and Prospect*. Accessed 9 May 2018.

² Cassandra M. Gibbs, et al., "The Impact of Early Age at First Childbirth on Maternal and Infant Health" in *Pediatric Perinat Epidemiol*, Vol. 26 No. 1 (July 2012), p. 259-284. Also, the World Health Organization. (2014). *Health for the World's Adolescents: a Second Chance in the Second Decade*, Access 9 May 2018.

³ Nawal M. Noer, "Child Marriage: a Silent Health and Human Rights Issue" in *Obstetrics & Gynecology*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (Winter 2009), p. 51-56.

⁴ Anita Raj and Ulrike Boehmer, "Girl Child Marriage and Its association with National Rates of HIV, Maternal Health, and Infant Mortality Across 97 Country", in *Violence Against Women*, Vol. 19. No. 40 (April 2013), p. 536-551.

⁵ Rachel Kidman, "Child Marriage and Intimate Partner Violence: a Comparative Study of Countries" in *International Journal Epidemiol*, Vol 46, No. 2 (October 2006), p. 1-14. Moreover, Amber Peterman, Jennifer Bleck and Tia Palermo, "Age and Intimate Partner Violence: an Analysis of Global Trends Among Women Experiencing Victimization in 30 Developing Countries" in *Journal of Adolescent Health* 57.6 (2015): 624-630.

⁶ Gordon Brown, *Out of Wedlock, into School Combating Child Marriage Through Education* (London: Overseas Department, 2012), p. 34.

⁷ Santhya K. G. and Shiren J. Jejeebhoy, "Sexual Reproductive Health and Rights of Adolescent Girls: Evidence from Low- and Middle-Income Countries" in *Global Public Health*. Vol 10, No. 2 (January 2015), p. 189-221.

⁸ Simin Montazeri, et al., "Determinants of Early Marriage from Married Girls' Perspectives in Iranian Setting: A Qualitative Study", *Journal of Environmental and Public Health*, (January 2016), p. 1-8.



number of underage marriage compared with the countries in Sub Saharan. In this respect, Indonesia is a country that has plummeted the number of child marriage.⁹ The countries' number was dipped one per cent of child marriage prevalence from 24% in 2013 to 23% in 2015.¹⁰ Nevertheless, a large number of population in Indonesia is pinpointed to be a burden on the global number of child marriage.

In 2014, Indonesia Government was exhorted to effectuate protection for children by the United Nation, including child marriage. They also have the particular Law about Marriage that consents about the minimum age for marrying, which is 16 for women and 19 for men. However, the law of marriage is significantly affected by various cultural and religious aspects in each region across the country. Thus, there are dispensations to marry under those ages with presenting parents' consent. As a consequence, it is used as a legitimation for parents and families in arranging their children to marry.

At some point, the realization of impact and determinant factor for women under the age of 18 in the marriage is necessitated. Indonesia is a compelling case to investigate this adolescent girls' marriage phenomena because of the large number of population and its culturally, religiously, and geographically manifolds. Addressing this issue, the paper presents a historical assessment of child marriage in Indonesia account of the different periods leading to the present. In this way, it creates the prerequisites to build a general perspective toward the issue. The discussion of the legal aspect, which aims to examine the child marriage issue wisely, is also presented. The perspective, then, would be presented as the discussion part of the paper. The last part is the conclusion with some reflection on the implication of this study with regard to how pupil may think about child marriage.

Method and Data Source

The primary analysis used the data about child marriage in Indonesia by Statistic Indonesia (Badan Pusat Statistik-BPS) conducted in 2013 and 2015. The data provides the prevalence and structural determinants of child marriage in both provincial and national level. With a total surface of 1.913.578,68 km², the region's population amounted to about 258.7 million people. The cases of

⁹ Gavin Jones and Bina Gubhaju, "Trend in Age at Marriage in the Provinces of Indonesia". Retrieve May 10, 2018, from Asia Research Institute Working Paper Series No.105, 2008.

¹⁰ Statistic Indonesia (BPS), "Kemajuan yang Tertunda: Analisis Data Perkawinan Usia Anak di Indonesia, Berdasarkan Hasil Susenas 2008-2012 dan Sensus Penduduk 2010". ISBN: 978-978-064-963-6 Nomor Publikasi: 04210.1608, 2015.

child marriage are discovered in every island within the country. The most considerable prevalence of child marriage occurs in Kalimantan and Sulawesi Islands. The five provinces with the most disproportionate percentage of child marriage cases are West Sulawesi (34.22 per cent), South Kalimantan (33.68), central Kalimantan (33.56), West Kalimantan (32.21), and Central Sulawesi (31.91).¹¹ Figure 1 imparts the provinces' prevalence of child marriage in 2015. The provinces with red colour are the province that has a higher prevalence than the national prevalence (22.82%).

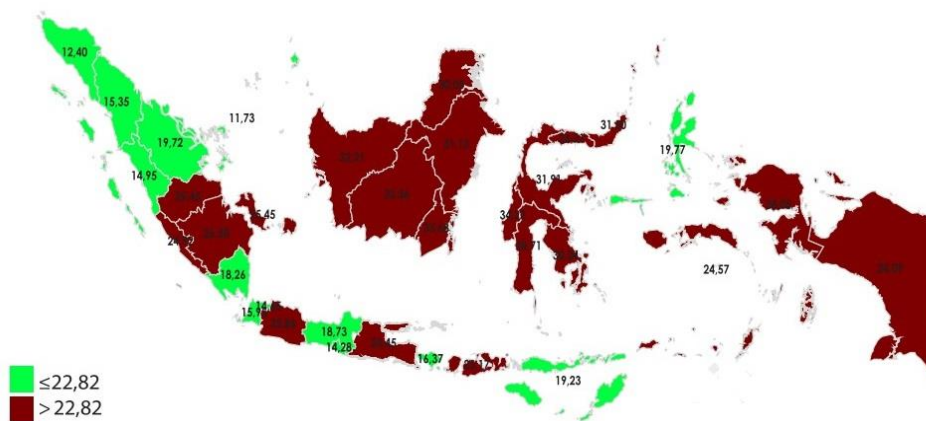


Figure 1. The Prevalence of Child Marriage by Provinces (Source: Susenas, 2015)

In 2015, The percentage in girls' marriage in Indonesia was dominated by girls aged 16 and 17 years. Globally, the percentage of each age group plummeted from the period of 2013 to 2015. The analysis included the data from the historical aspect relating to this issue, such as Singulate Means of Age Marriage (SMAM) in the period of 1971-2010. The age of first marriage also altered from 17.7 years old in 1991 to 20.1 years old in 2012.¹² The trend of data depicts that modern women in Indonesia detain their marriage with the amount of 3 years. In line with it, the number of child marriage has dropped since recent years. Unfortunately, the data were limited to the first census of Indonesia in 1971. Thus, the historical assessment scrutinizes the interrelation among the trends from that year with several factors that potential impacts on the number of it.

Following analysis presents the examination of policy endeavours facing the issue. The examination of legal context and provision to identify the available notion about the child marriage law with specifically focusing on the women and child bride. This study scanned national and constitutional provision to examine how it is used to legalized the praxis of underage marriage. The analysis also

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Lauren Rumble, et al., "An Empirical Exploration of Female Child Marriage Determinants in Indonesia", in *BMC Public Health*, Vol. 18, No. 1 (March 2018), p. 407.

focuses on the dispensation and exception of the minimum age of first marriage. The last is how that dispensation is covered by the law itself to prevent the impact of child marriage.

Result and Discussion

Historical Assessment of Child Marriage in Indonesia

The praxis of child marriage in Indonesia has a long history. It has established as one of the basic issues since the colonialization era.¹³ Even it has emerged to be customary practices in several ethnic groups for a long time before. The groups are, for examples, Aceh Gayo, Aceh Pesisir, Batak Toba, Sasak, Dayak Meratus, Taa, Toro, Bajo, and Tolaki.¹⁴

In the past, the practice of child marriage was dominated by cultural and societal value. National Population and Family Planning Board (*Badan Koordinasi Keluarga Berencana Nasional-BKKBN*, 2012) stated that the first justification was that the girls who have menstruation are ready to marry. Thus, the ages of the first period were ranged from 9 years to 14 years. The minor brides usually had had their first menstruation cycle before they were married. Furthermore, the culture analysis by Women National Committee also found the women in several rural areas who still unmarried in the age of 20 were judged as a wrong person.¹⁵ The example of this case is the early marriage in Kisar, Maluku Island. The young bride was perceived as a more valuable person than a single girl. The other example was the practices in Batak Toba ethnic group, Sumatera Island. The women who married late were categorized as a woman with inferior attitudes, such as lazy and fussy. As a result, having an older unmarried daughter would affect family social status.

The child marriage in previous time was also related to the forced marriage arranging by the parents. The circumstances have prevailed widely in both rural and urban areas in Indonesia. The parents would choose the spouse for their daughter to maintain their social status in society. It is mandatory that have been accepted by the customary assemblage. On the other hand, the daughter who refused to be married by their parents was categorized as an unobeyed girl. Consequently, they did not have the bargaining power to reject the marriage.

The study reveals many parents in Sulawesi Tenggara, East Java, and Maluku Island conducted

¹³ Nani Soewondo, "The Indonesia Marriage Law and Its Implementing Regulation", in *Archipel*, Vol. 13, No. 1 (1977), p. 283-294.

¹⁴ <https://www.komnasperempuan.go.id/reads-kekerasan-terhadap-perempuan-berbasis-budaya>, Access 9 May 2018

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

matchmaking practices when their daughter had not been born yet.¹⁶ In Toro ethnic groups in Sulawesi Tenggara, for instance, the noble family would marry their daughter in the age of 16 to maintain their novelty status. The groups have their own traditional level of society. So that, the marriages are claimed as the prominent ways to perpetuate their heredities.

Leading to recent years, the other determinant factor of child marriage cases in Indonesia is economic context and poverty. In fact, the economic context has become one of the determinant factors in both past and present day. In other words, these determinant factors are significant triggers that have been happening for many years. Many low-income families chose to do not support their daughter education because they are merely responding to have a domestic duty in their houses merely. Moreover, the education investment of women was claimed, causing the loss of family income because they would be taken by their spouse.

The case in Dayak Meratus, Kalimantan Island, is one of the examples of economic determination in child marriage. The marriage has been involved the school drop-out adolescent women with the teenage boy who has occupancy as tapper rubber latex with high income. The marriages are usually conducted with the prospective bride consent. Nonetheless, the motivation of marriage has promoted the distribution of workload for generating families' income. They deliberated that marriage would add their families' worker to increase their income.¹⁷

Although the economic factor is one of the principal determinant factors that were continually happening, Indonesia is experiencing the alteration of the age of first marriage. Table 1 depicts the age of first marriage in three provinces by gender and residential place in 1971, 1980, and 1990.

The women, in comparison with men, have earlier age in their first marriage. Moreover, minor women in rural areas were more susceptible to marriage. The age of first marriage in rural areas from these three years shows that they have a younger age to marry than whom who live in urban areas. In 2010, the age of age marriage was remained increased to 22.17. The trend of child marriage in the past, leading to the present shed way on how women in Indonesia are delaying their marriage time.

¹⁶ Yanti Wa Ana Sari, "Faktor Penyebab Pernikahan Dini di Kelurahan Sampara Kabupaten Konawe" in *Jurnal Kesehatan Masyarakat*, Vol. 1, No. 4 (April 2016), p. 6-10. and Nur Ela and Rita Damayanti, "Dinamika Perkawinan Dini pada Remaja Putus Sekolah di Desa Pringkasap Kecamatan Pabuaran Kabupaten Subang Tahun 2014". Retrieve 11 May, 2018, from Universitas Indonesia website: <http://lib.ui.ac.id/naskahringkas/2016-06/S55975-Nur%20Ela>.

¹⁷ <http://www.komnasperempuan.go.id/reads-kekerasan-terhadap-perempuan-berbasis-budaya>, Access 9 May 2018.

Table 1. The Age of First Marriage in Three Provinces in 1971, 1980, and 1990

Province/Gender	Urban			Rural			Urban and Rural		
	1971	1980	1990	1971	1980	1990	1971	1980	1990
West Java									
Men	25.2	25.1	23.9	21.7	22.1	23.3	22.3	22.9	24.2
Women	20.6	20.9	22.4	17.4	17.7	16.6	17.9	16.5	20.2
West Nusa Tenggara									
Men	25.2	25.7	25.6	23.0	23.1	23.2	23.2	23.6	23.6
Women	23.5	21.1	22.7	19.1	20.1	23.5	19.2	20.3	21.0
South Sulawesi									
Men	25.3	23.5	27.6	23.2	23.7	25.2	23.6	24.5	25.9
Women	22.1	23.6	25.3	20.3	21.4	22.9	20.6	21.9	23.6
Indonesia									
Men	25.7	25.9	26.9	23.4	23.5	24.4	23.9	2.1	25.3
Women	21.2	21.9	23.5	16.9	19.4	20.5	19.4	20.1	21.6

Sources: Susenas, 1971; Susenas 1980; and Susenas, 1990

The trend of child marriage inclination in Indonesia has a strong relation with education factors. Rumble et al. found that education is an influential factor in altering the marital preferences in young age.¹⁸ The Indonesian women have impressively increased their education through the school year. Within four decades (1971-2010), the women school years raised from 6.91 years to 8.83 years.¹⁹ The average years of education (school) by the population were also raised by 2015, which reaching 10.7.²⁰ It means that Indonesian women had predominantly attended high school level in 2015. In line with it, the literacy of women also decreased throughout the years. Table 2 renders information about the development of literacy of women in Indonesia from 1971 to 1990 through the prevalence number.

The other justification of young bride inclination is the education level of brides' parents. The study of Choe revealed that the education level of young brides' mothers has higher effects than fathers toward their daughter's decisiveness of marriage. The upsurge of the education level of mothers' associates with less number of early marriage for the daughter.²¹

Furthermore, in the past, families have such traditional norms that bonded between extended

¹⁸ Lauren Rumble, et al., "An Empirical Exploration of Female Child Marriage Determinants in Indonesia", in *BMC Public Health*, Vol. 18, No. 1 (March 2018), p. 407.

¹⁹ Joseph Natanel Marshal, et al., "Prevalence of Child Marriage and Its Determinants among Young Women in Indonesia" In *Child Poverty and Social Protection Conference*, SMERU Research Institute, 2013.

²⁰ Statistic Indonesia (BPS), "Kemajuan yang Tertunda: Analisis Data Perkawinan Usia Anak di Indonesia, Berdasarkan Hasil Susenas 2008-2012 dan Sensus Penduduk 2010". ISBN: 978-978-064-963-6 Nomor Publikasi: 04210.1608, 2015.

²¹ Minja Kim Choe, et al., "Early Marriage and Childbearing in Indonesia and Nepal". Retrieve 11 May 2018. East-West Center website: <https://www.eastwestcenter.org/publications/early-marriage-and-childbearing-indonesia-and-nepal>.

families.²² They also governed most child marriage cases. However, as economic development and social alteration in Indonesia are happening, the ties with extended families are also stimulating to adjust. The decision of marrying their daughter is handed over the prominent families to the parents and their children themselves. It proves that social changing has reinforced the Indonesia girls to have better bargain power in their life.

The exciting causes of young brides' parents in Indonesia are the religious values of sexual chastity. Child marriage is valued as a good manifestation where the modern families with high-level education and piety are possible to give their consent related to their young girl to be married in advance. The study about the relation of faiths and minors' marriage by Unicef find that some religious sects promote and permissive in marrying earlier, such as Islam, Jews, and Christian. The communities state the minors' marriage is implemented in order to prevent their daughter from modern sexual relationships outside of marriage.

Table 2. The prevalence of women literacy in 1971, 1980, and 1990

Aged	1971	1980	1990
10-14	79.1	89.2	97.6
15-19	77.9	83.8	96.9
20-24	69.4	79.2	93.0
25-29	55.1	74.3	86.9
30-34	40.8	64.8	83.0
35-39	33.4	53.2	78.8
40-44	26.4	40.4	69.0
45-49	22.8	33.7	60.4
50+	12.5	20.0	38.8
Indonesia	50.3	62.7	78.6

Sources: Susenas, 1971; Susenas 1980; and Susenas, 1990

Indonesia has a long history of child marriage with some alteration of justification behind it. The determinant factors in the past mostly caused by traditional and cultural values that prompt the praxis of it. The religious context then also gives push factors from generating protection for adolescent women. The alteration is happening while the development of the country is also occurring. The upsurge of both girls and their parents' education level are impressively adjusting the inclination of minor marriages. Though the number of it is not remarkable declining, there are promising ways for directing it through the set of policy and programs by the government.

²² John C. Caldwell and Pat Caldwell, "Family System: Their Viability and Vulnerability. A study of Intergenerational Interactions and Their Demographic Implications". pp. 46-66 in E. Berguo and P. Xenos (eds.) *Family System and Cultural Change* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992).

The Law Aspect of Child marriage in Indonesia

The law marriage in Indonesia has been established since 1974 through Law No.1/1974. The law commands the minimum age of marriage (19 for men and 16 for women). The presence of this law, however, offers opportunities to early marriage on condition that those marriages, who both or one spouse are under the age of 21, is practicable under the parents' consent. The approbation is mandatory to be submitted to the religious court by one or both parents. Then, the law would apply the dispensation for the prospective bride and groom as long as their parents/guardian adjudicates their marriage with or without their consent.

The child marriage phenomena, however, is still triggering the dispute in the perspective of law in Indonesia. Law No. 35/2014 about child protection declare the children under 18 years old is defined as a child who is still entailing their parents' guidance and protection. Every child has rights to be raised and protected until reaching maturity. In this case, maturity becomes debatable because, in the marriage law, the parents could arrange the exception for marrying their daughter under the age of 18. On other words, the child protection law prohibits them from doing that. In contrast, marriage allows it. It means there is any inconsistency between these two laws.

According to those, the critics toward the marriage law is dominated by the women right activists. They have campaigned against the practice of child marriage as well as have encouraged the government to publish the presidential regulation to change the law. The movement aims particularly to change the minimum age of girls' marriage from 16 to 20. On the other hand, the Indonesia Ulema Council have clarified the conformity of marriage law and Indonesian Ideology, Pancasila. The law confirms religion supremacy toward the marriage. Furthermore, Indonesia Ministry of Religious Affairs also stated that the underage marriage does not directly legalize. The marriage includes the exception categories that must be strict about following.

The marriage law possible to embrace the dispensation of minimum ages when it faces the religious belief. As the largest Muslim country, the availability of Islamic religious law is essential to be considered. In Islam, the regulation about the minimum age of marriage is not manifested to the age number. It manifests through natural ability, readiness, maturity. Furthermore, every Islamic marriage, including underage marriage, mandates to the presence of parents or guardian. In this consent, the three chief legal have a similar perspective. It is clear that the legal deliberate not only the importance of maturity of the prospective bride and groom but also the presence of parents as critical roles in early marriage.

The other exception of the minimum age of marriage is customary law. In Indonesia, as mentioned in the previous chapter, several areas within the country have an exact minimum age for marriage. At least 21 areas and ethnic groups are remaining the child marriage practices as their customs.²³ Because of this consideration of cultural exception, the highest number of child marriage is Sulawesi Island, where many ethnic groups enacting it (See Figure 1).

Another dispensation is adolescent pregnancy outside the marriage. It is essential to review as these cases occur more often in the recent era. Figure 2 imparts the percentage of pregnancy outside of marriage in teenagers (aged 10-19) by residential areas. As the consequences, It is often believed that the young marriage manifests as a way to protect their young daughter from sexual violence and early pregnancy.

Based on the analysis of constitutional marriage law and religious law, child marriage phenomena are not scrutinized illegitimate in Indonesia, yet more importantly, it merely could be evaded. The marriage law entitles the dispensation through the strict regulation toward several particular cases, such as religious beliefs, cultural requisite, and pregnancy outside the marriages. On the other hand, the law and its dispensation are carrying the appraisal by women activist because it legalizes the number of minor marriage in Indonesia. An attempt to generate a perspective toward this issue is presented in the following discussion.

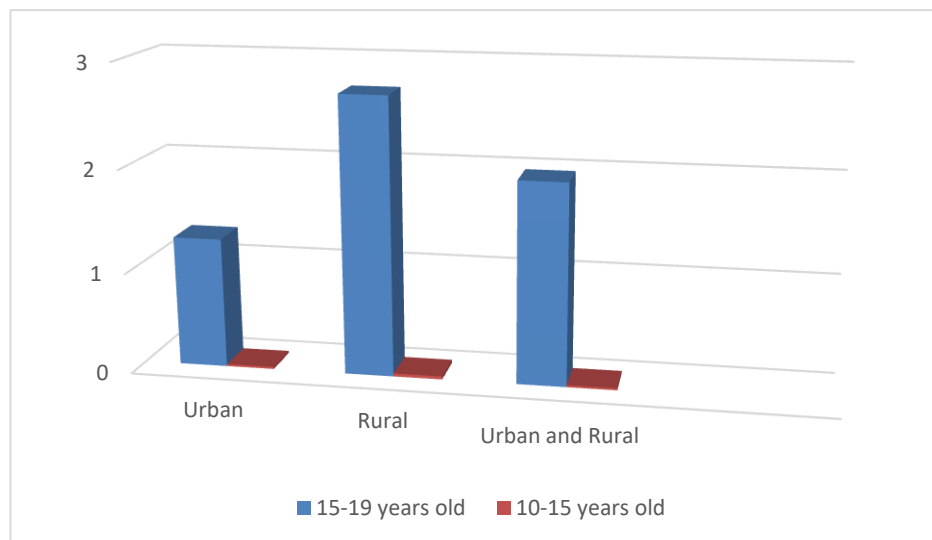


Figure 2. The Prevalence of Pregnancy Outside of Marriage in Adolescent Women in 2013²⁴

²³ <https://www.komnasperempuan.go.id/reads-kekerasan-terhadap-perempuan-berbasis-budaya>, Access 9 May 2018.

²⁴ National Population and Family Planning Board (BKKBN), “*Pernikahan Dini pada Beberapa Provinsi di Indonesia: Akar Masalah dan Peran Kelembagaan di Daerah*” (Jakarta: Direktorat Analisis Dampak Kependudukan BKKBN, 2012).

This study reveals the child marriage issue in Indonesia as one of the extraordinary challenges for women and children developments. An institutional milestone found that child marriage has been applied in several areas and ethnic groups within the region. The justification of child marriage during the period of 1971 to current years is an adaptation process with the social and economic changes.

The study discovered that child marriage professes as social-economic phenomena. Hence, the cultural aspects have pinpointed as the first motives in driving child marriage practices in the past. Many of adolescent women in rural areas of Indonesia relinquish their young years into marriage. Most of child marriage practices based on cultural value has forgotten the reason for it, and people are remaining to conduct marriage for their young prospective brides because they have been taught to execute it hereditary.

After the era of cultural justification behind child marriage, the economic and poverty are two reasons that remaining perceptible to be the dominant factor in both previous and current times. Low-income families see the child marriage provides them benefit economically. However, the study of child marriage found that the improvement of families' well-being has limited to the short-term benefit. Meanwhile, it also does not render financial security for the couples themselves.

As the largest Muslim country, religion reasoning has remarkable implication in deciding the underage marriage. The concern about the protection of their daughter and sexual chastity are prominent issues for the Muslim family. However, it still does not be categorized as an acceptable activity and natural behaviour. In Indonesia cases, religion seems to give allowances and permission rather than obligatory and mandatory positions. It is because if the religion provides suggestive and mandatory toward child marriage, Indonesia should have higher prevalence is as any other countries. Also, although religion reasoning is permission roles, the sexual chastity explanation could be broadened to the moral preference. In this case, child marriage gives opportunities to protect the daughters from, for example, premarital sex. The normative belief to prevent and prohibit in making a decision to marry is personal beliefs. It, then, builds the relationship with each maturity.

The study also counted on the term of maturity behind the marriage law. The maturity of marriage intends to embody the aim of marriage through convenient thinking. The women maturity toward marriage in the law is defined as the minimum age of marriage. However, the definition of it should

not be limited to the number of age. Most of the social science interprets maturity as principal and essential things. It also could be stated as a natural behaviour that is strongly influenced by personal preferences. Furthermore, in the perspective of law, maturity is defined as the validity of responsible for self legal actions. The problem is the lack of benchmarking of maturity, creating the variabilities of mature definition. The number of age that is used to appraised adulthood is categorized as a subjective way because maturity is not always in line with age. The maturity must be assessed through a complete evaluation of physical, mental, and emotion.

The prominent thing to be considered is, in the previous time, the praxis of child marriage in Indonesia were not respected as a bad marriage. Nevertheless, in the modern era, the young marriage budges to be some unappropriated existences. In 2001, Unicef and the United Nations commenced to classified it as a violation of human rights. Their main concerns are the health, economic, and education status of child brides.

The findings of this study indicated that it is essential to have a balanced perspective to discern child marriage in Indonesia. According to it, the balanced perspective means that the harmful effect of child marriage, as well as the opportunities of protection benefits, are worth to be examined. The attention is also required for attempts to minimize the negative minor marital preferences and attitudes rather than just ending the practices.

Parallel with this perspective, the phenomena of child marriage in Indonesia maintains not only the economic expectation by the parents but also the religious value and customary context. Thus, the prevention policy and program to reduce the amounted of young brides should be sustained with the steps to help the girls who have practised and are susceptible toward it. Despite that, the attempt contains the directive implementation of young marriage to minimize the harmful effect, such as amending the promotion of girls' education level for them who have got married. Married girls who are abandoned by knowledge and skills to support their household would remain vulnerable to the poverty cycle.

The study has several limitations, as the study is desk review, it was not able to collect and answer specific research questions, particular information such as child marriage based on religious views may not have been collected because of limitation secondary data sources. In any case, the study could only work with the available data. Thus, although the study utilized national data and expert judgments, this study does not render a complement assessment. The study has not conducted, for example, a quantitative observation about differences of child marriage based on economic,

customary, and religious aspects, which may discover some discrepancy and differences. The exploration, for instance, of education for young brides should be advocated. Thus the analysis of the interrelation between it obligates to be examined. Besides, there may be relevant, beneficial factors that could be identified numerically, for example, the protection of premarital sex and teenagers' pregnancy outside the marriage at the communities. Nonetheless, the findings of study bestow the endeavour to equal perspective among the women rights and cultural and religious contexts of child marriage in Indonesia.

Conclusion

The child marriage in Indonesia has been occurred, based on available data, since the colonization era, but it is possible that it has existed long before it. The great historical value of it brought up the fact that the cultural context is the first determinant factors. Also, the economic factor persistent in maintaining the practices until recent days. Another factor is moral preferences that preserved by religious values where the child marriage upholds the fortification of teenage sexual lifestyles. The analysis illustrates the critical way to conduct directive solution for minimizing the detrimental impact of young brides. This study complements another examination that only focused on plummeting the number of minor marriage.

The policy review, including other convenient law, identifies that the praxis of child marriage is not categorized as an illicit implementation. However, it should be managed to elude the negative impacts. The aim of regulating the minimum age to marry is substantially directed to the adulthood of the person. However, maturity is varied among people. The setting of the minimum age of marriage renders a subjective standard to only construct the number of age as a standard of maturity. The maturity imparts an objective standard when it is generated from physically, mentally, and emotionally states of the person. So, the exception of a minimum age of marriage should establish the impartial screening of maturity rather than limited it with only by the number of age.

The study suggests that the Indonesian government nurtures the education level for all of the children, especially for the children who have been marrying. The government's guarantee for social indemnity financing is required to be rendered. It would both reduce the number of child marriage and prevent the vulnerable young spouse families from the intergeneration poverty cycle. The interpretation of child marriage must be adjusted through elucidating view that marriage is not an



obstacle for girls to obtain higher education. The government is suggested hosting not only formal education but also non-formal education, such as part-time school and training. Although it does not produce a formal diploma, it is greatly enhancing girls' practical capabilities.

In Indonesia, the public campaign also strongly supported by the non-governmental organization. They are prioritizing the women rights and child protection concerning the impact of the harm of marriage. Indonesia could also optimize the UN and other global organization support related to the issue. The fund to mobilize community engagement initiates the wider society to examine carefully. Nevertheless, the cultural and religious value that serve as permissive roles could also be considered. The existence of religious and traditional leaders could become the pioneers for enriching public awareness of child marriage concern.

This studies' position is not to despised the attempt of ending child marriage on the global 2030 targets and Indonesia commitments towards it. The study is keen to support a balanced perspective to discern either the child marriage in cultural and religious contexts or child rights. Indonesia has high diversity population where child marriage is common. The attempt, to address it, is through religiously and culturally proficiency and reverential of those differentiae, while at the same time, directing those in order to minimize excuse to allow minors to be victimized. Future analysis essays should contain a meticulous examination of the religious value of child marriage in Indonesia, including the legalization considerations to better comprehension how the law could prevent and lead the practices of child marriage in Indonesia.

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